855 861 Two facts that have been introduced into this discussion should be restated and made more explicit. The first is that Okinawan child-training methods include the use of both verbal appeals and physical punishment. As a result of observations made during and shortly after the battle in 1945, Dr. J. C. Maloney reported[1] that Okinawans were very permissive with their children and did not use corporal punishment. It will be seen from the data just presented that while Okinawans are more permissive in many situations than Americans would be, they do in fact use severe physical punishment on occasion.

152 181 171 861 The second fact has to do with the contrast of "shame" versus "guilt" that has been presented by several writers on the character of the Japanese. Both Gorer and Benedict have asserted that the Japanese conform because they fear the ridicule of others whereas Westerners conform because they fear their own consciences; Japanese culture is a "shame culture" while ours is a "guilt culture".[2] Okinawan culture also seems to be primarily a shame culture. Okinawans clearly fear ridicule greatly, and this fear seems traceable to their early training. But there are also elements in Okinawan child training that would tend to produce something of the Western sort of fear that one may suffer for his wrong-doing regardless of whether he is found out or not. These are to be seen in the phrases "retribution will strike" (Okinawan bachi nu ataaing, Japanese 'bachi ga ataru') and "the gods saw you". Shame and guilt are doubtless not mutually exclusive. Both sanctions exist in Okinawan culture, shame being much the stronger.

857 524 [203] [177] Play Boys play with kites and tops. Girls play hop-scotch. Both, if they can afford it, get one or more of the numerous Japanese children's magazines that are filled with stories, comics, and a variety of make-it-yourself paper toys.

857 Boys catch insects and birds and fasten strings to them in order to jerk them back as they try to fly away, or in order simply to drag them around. They do so quite unconscious of any cruelty in the act. Adults appear to regard living things as proper playthings.

[564] There may be less age-grading among smaller children than among older people or among children in present-day American society. Several boys of different ages were observed playing together on many occasions, mainly, it seemed, because they were related and lived in adjacent houses. The girls who occasionally joined them were also of the same group of related families.

882 178 [881] [877] 877 882 Youth Traditionally, entering one's thirteenth year, for a girl, and fifteenth, for a boy, marks a change in status from that of child to that of youth (niisee, in J. 'seinen', literally "green years"). There was also a later ceremony at which the young man's hair was done in a knot; and the tattooing undergone by a young woman may have been part of a puberty rite. But at present, finishing one's schooling marks the greatest change in the life of a young person. At this time the treatment he receives and the behavior expected of him change markedly. As long as he is in school he is

1 Maloney, 1945, p. 394.

2 Gorer, 1943; Benedict, 1946, p. 223.

expected to keep to his studies and not merely to avoid the distractions of adult pleasures but actually not to be interested in them. He is given special considerations as a student, a place to study, quiet, and freedom from irksome tasks. This consideration probably varies with the position of the student in the family and with his success as a student. Boys undoubtedly get more consideration than girls, older sons than younger sons---though if an older son has been unable to go on to school and is helping a younger brother go on, the younger brother may get greater consideration and feel greater responsibility. This special treatment lasts as long as the young person is in school or as long as the family can afford not to rely on him for economic assistance. But even the young man in university who is working part time to keep himself in school is expected not to be interested in the sorts of pleasures sought by younger boys who stopped their schooling much earlier.

Today junior high school is compulsory, but the majority of students go no farther. The high schools strictly limit the number of students that they can enroll, so that many junior high graduates who would like to go on to high school are unable to. But whether a youth stops his schooling at junior high school, high school, or later, the change in treatment and attitudes is the same. He "enters society". He is now expected to do an adult's work and contribute to the family's support. At the same time he is expected to spend his evenings with the other young men, drinking, teasing the girls, and staying out half the night---behavior a student would have no interest in, at least in theory.

While a youth is in school he belongs to a students' organization ('gakuseikai'). After he leaves school he is expected to join the youth organization ('Seinenkai'). The present Youth Organization is the successor of the pre-war, Japan-wide organization, less the militarism and jingoism. It is organized on a Ryukyu-wide basis, but local chapters make their own constitutions, statements of aims, and so forth---probably with no great variation. The aims expressed in the constitutions seen could mainly be put under the headings intellectual and moral self-improvement and community uplift. Meetings are held perhaps twice a month, one being for business and serious discussion, the other for purely social purposes. The social meetings feature music played on the 'shamisen', dancing, and 'awamori'. Among other serious business, in some communities the Youth Organization engages in clean-up or repair projects and hires itself out for farm labor. Where it receives pay, the funds probably generally go toward the expense of the social meetings.

The Youth Organization takes young people of both sexes, but there are usually more men, since women drop out at marriage while men may remain in after marriage if they choose to, until 30, according to one rule. In the country, membership after finishing school is represented as compulsory. In the city, however, the compulsion is lacking and many who are not interested in joining manage to stay out. But in the country few would suggest that anyone had the right not to join. When I asked a past president of the organization in Yamada if everyone joined, he replied to the effect, "Oh yes, all must join, we have a rule." And he proceeded to point out the regulation

Education The Japanese established the first schools in the rural areas some time before World War I. Great emphasis was placed on making Japanese speakers and nationals out of Okinawans. Today most of the population is bilingual; those who speak only a dialect of the Ryukyuan language are persons over sixty and pre-school children. Most Okinawans have come to regard themselves as Japanese. 871 177 [191] [829]

A major change in the postwar educational system has been the addition of three years to the period of compulsory schooling, making a total of nine years. Since the schools continue to provide a Japanese education, the effect will be to increase the Japanization of Okinawa, raise literacy, and ultimately make all speakers bilingual. As a student is usually excused from all work by the family, this measure has served to withhold a large number of teenagers from the labor market.

In the rural areas the author heard frequent praise for the extension of the schooling period and the new school construction program initiated by the military government. Most rural peoples stated that educational opportunities were poor for them in the prewar period; high school education was said to be particularly difficult for a village child to achieve. Now they feel that they are realizing equality with the urban areas. The urbanite is more likely to suggest that the quality of education has deteriorated in the postwar period. Both rural and urban people were agreed that one decided improvement has been that students no longer fight among themselves. Before and during the war all students were organized into small groups based on area of residence; each group was headed by a student leader who shepherded his charges to and from school in semi-military formation. Rivalry between these organized groups frequently led to gang fighting so severe that the intervention of teachers or police was often necessary to restore order. 871 369 178 877 178

Rural people regard education as providing one of the best opportunities for improving one's status; consequently, the improvement of educational opportunities will have far-reaching effects on social mobility. Those who acquire a high school or university education rarely remain in the village, and the few who do remain adopt an occupation other than farming. 871 554

Economy Money was virtually non-existent in the old Okinawan village; barter was the chief means of exchange. Taxes under the communal land holding system were paid in grain and cloth. The land reforms initiated by the Japanese brought the introduction of tax payments in cash. Increasing emphasis on sugar production due to governmental encouragement and subsidy did much to destroy the self-sufficiency of the village and brought dependence on a cash crop. The period of Japanese administration was marked by a gradual adoption of a money economy in the rural areas. 437 436 178 177

Okinawans state that there is a far greater amount of money in the village today than in the prewar period. Some assert that due to governmental price controls they were never able to realize a fair return for their products (chiefly sugar) in the prewar era, but the great increase in money in recent years seems largely attributable to factors relating to the military occupation. Today over twenty-five percent of the total labor force is employed by the military and in subsidiary occupations such as construction; this steep rise in 434 178 [435] [464]